

KHOWAR, the predominant language of Chitral and of the adjacent parts of the Gilgit district, is characterized on the one hand by a tenacious preservation of ancient I.A. sounds, forms, and words, and on the other hand by the existence of a remarkably large number of foreign elements. According to Sir George Grierson, Khowar "in some essential particulars agrees rather with the Ghalcha languages to the north".¹ And, drawing attention to the fact that the Chitral valley² was formerly inhabited by Kalashas, he expresses the opinion that the originally homogeneous Dardic population of Kafiristan, Chitral, and Gilgit "was subsequently split into two by a wedge of Khō invasion, representing members of a different, but related, tribe coming from the north [of the Hindukush]". In whatever way one may be inclined to interpret the position there can be no doubt that Khō, when compared with the neighbouring Dardic dialects, presents many peculiarities which deserve our attention.

Among the words included in the list given by Sir George³ in order to exemplify the difference between Khō. and other Dard and Kafir languages some may be of I.A. origin. But it is none the less remarkable that Khō. should differ so widely from its neighbours, even as regards a number of the most common words, e.g. such as denote parts of the body. Thus, corresponding in most cases to words of I.A. origin in Shina and Kalasha, Khō. has *yeē* 'eye', *a'pog* 'mouth', *li'gini* 'tongue', *ri'gi's* 'beard', *ca'mol* 'finger', *do'yār* 'nail', *kran*, *arqa* 'back', *as'qār* 'lung', *qhal* 'bone', *is'ki* (*q?*) 'heel', *is'gi* 'jaw', *biq* 'pupil', *zānu* 'knee', *bāzu* 'arm'. Some of these words come from Ir., others are of unknown origin.⁴

The Ir. loanwords in Khō. which form the subject of this article are very numerous. They may roughly be divided into the following groups, which, as will be seen, cannot always be clearly distinguished:

- I. Loanwords from (Modern) Pers.
- II. Loanwords from some Middle Ir. language.
- III. Loanwords from the Pamir dialects.
- IV. Loanwords from some undefinable or unknown Ir. source.

¹ *LSI*, VIII, 2, p. 133.

² Or, at any rate, Lower Chitral.

³ *Loc. cit.*

⁴ Cf. also, for instance, *rān* 'wine', *rēni* 'dog', *is'kim* 'silk', etc.

I

The first group is by far the largest one, but also the least interesting from the linguistic point of view. Most of the Prs., or Ar.-Prs., loan-words in Kho. belong to that well-known host of "Islamic" words which has swept victoriously over half of Asia. They need not detain us here. But there are a few which present phonetic or semantic peculiarities of some sort and which call for some brief remarks.

It is noteworthy that in some words Prs. voiceless plosives have been rendered by Kho. aspirates. Thus: *phosī* 'skin', *klām* 'palate', *bal'han* 'native country'.¹ A secondary aspiration appears also in some Kho. words of IA. origin, for instance in *phān* 'palm of the hand'. But in Badakhshi Prs. there is a tendency towards the aspiration of voiceless plosives, and it is possible that this is the reason why Kho. has chosen the aspirate in some cases. We may compare the situation in Ossetic, which possesses two series of voiceless plosives, and may employ either of them to present foreign ones.

Bal'han is remarkable also on account of its *b* corresponding to Prs. *w*. This word cannot have been borrowed before the Kho. change of *v* > *b*, and I can find no reason why the *w* was not retained, just as in *wazl*, *wazir*, etc.

A curious form is *sabli'kī* 'a kind of horse fodder, lucerne'. It is evidently borrowed from Prs. cf. *šafal*, *šawal* 'lucerne'; but the exact form from which it is derived is unknown.² But there must be some connection between the Kho. form and 'Sanskrit' *sai-jī-ti-k'ie* (< *sak-b'ji-tak-ka*) given by Li Shi Chen.³

guzzen 'garden', which from Kho. has penetrated into Kal. and Pal., is possibly a cross between **guzēl*, **gulzēr* < Prs. *gulzār* and Prs. *gulšan*.

The "*imāla*",⁴ which has been assumed for the hypothetical Prs. dialect-form **gulzēr*, appears also in other Kho. words. Thus we find *kel'ec* (Kal. *ku'ī'ac*) 'fathom' < Prs. *gūlēc*, *pe'lesk* 'rug' < Prs. *palās*, *no'wēs* 'grandchild' < Prs. *nawāsa*, *ki'ed*, *ki'ep* (Werchikwar *ki'ep*, Yidgha *ketiu*), but also *ki'āb* 'book' < Prs. *ki'āb*, *hēzi'k*

¹ In *phān* 'shirt' < Prs. *pinhān* the aspiration has been transposed. The origin of *phān*, *phān* 'trousers' is unknown to me. It rhymes with Prs. *derwāz* < *derwāz*.

² *Palohā* (Dardic dial. in Chitral) *phān* probably comes from Kho. Another kind of lucerne is called *der'kāl* in Pal., *der'kāl* in Gawar-Bati, and *der'kāl* in Kalasha.

³ Vide Laufer, *Sino-Iranica*, p. 214.

⁴ Cf. Horn, *Gr. Ir. Ph.*, I, 2, 33.

(O'Brien) 'powder horn' < Prs. *šāz(a)h*. Cf. also Munji *ri'keb* 'sūrrup' < Prs. *ri'keb* = *ri'kāb*.

Kho. *nivēšik* 'to write' agrees with the common E. Prs. form which has introduced the *š* of the preterite into the present stem. But I am unable to trace the exact source of such forms as *ri'wis* 'rhubarb': Prs. *rīwās*, Psh. *rawās*; *nazzi* 'pea': Prs. *nuzād*; *yulwanj* 'kite': Prs. *yalewān*, etc.; *angāh* 'awake': Prs. *āgāh* 'aware'; *yuzār* 'footstep, trace': Prs. *gušār* 'passage'. *krenj* (Kal. *kīn*) 'winkle' corresponds to Prs. *gurinj*, but a *k* is attested in Bal. *kirišk*, Kurd. *kurišk* < **kurinšk*.

A further form peculiar to Kho. (and the adjoining Werchikwar) is *tu'wek* 'gun, musket': Prs. *tufang*, *tufak*.¹

Finally it may be mentioned that Kho. has borrowed from Prs. a few words which I have not come across in any of the neighbouring languages. Thus, e.g.: *gudāz* 'trouble, grief' and *iškālī* 'excuse', probably from Prs. *šikāl* 'cunning, deceit', cf. *šikāliš* 'care, rogery'.

Iškālī also exemplifies the tendency to render Prs. *st-*, *sw-* + a consonant by Kho. *is-*. Thus: *iske'na* 'awl', *iskama* 'belly', *išpēl* 'whistling',² *isōr* 'horse', *isīyīn* 'sprouts' (Psh. *lōyān*), if from Prs. *sičy* 'straight'. The same tendency prevails in the development of IA. words in Kho. and it is impossible to decide whether the initial *is-*, etc., in the loanwords is of Kho. or of dialectical Prs. origin.

As regards *isōr* it is possible that it has not been borrowed from Modern Prs., where the word is hardly ever used, but from middle Ir., cf. e.g. N.W. Turfan Phl. *'sūr*.

This leads us on to the next group of loanwords.

II

In an earlier publication³ I have tried to show that Kho. contains a number of other "Middle-Ir." loanwords. It is, however, impossible to draw a clear line between words of Middle E.-Ir. origin and such as may have been borrowed from one of the Pamir dialects at an earlier stage of development. But, at any rate, some of the Kho. words of

¹ The distribution of the words for 'gun': *miliq*, *bonāq*, and the various forms assumed by *tufang* in Ir. and IA. would require a special study. Here it suffices to note that *tufak* must have come from the north-west. The Dard dialects of the Kunar valley have forms borrowed through Psh. *išpōk*. Most Pamir dialects (and Ormuri) have the Turki word *miliq*, or they employ the old local word for 'bow' with a new meaning.

² But Kal. *išpōr* 'whistling'; *išpōr'ī*, Kati *spō* 'dute' are genuine.

³ Report on a linguistic mission to Afghanistan, p. 75 f.

"Middle-Ir." appearance probably come from a language of civilization and not from a neighbouring local dialect.

Among the most important of the words dealt with are *harēn* 'mirror' < **gōden*; *čaxur* 'spinning-wheel': Sogd. *čaxr* 'wheel', etc.; *minēz* (Kati *nemōz*) 'prayer': Phl. *namāc*, Kurd. *minēz*, etc.; *zār* 'poison': N.W. Phl. *zār*, Kurd. *zār*; *duwarth* 'door': Old Pers. *duwarthi* 'portico'; *yrānu* 'pregnant': Sogd. *yrān* 'heavy'. Also *zalan* 'house, room' must be an early loanword from Ir., cf. Gabri *zadā* 'house', and Slav. *zala* 'hut' which is probably also borrowed from Ir.³

On the other hand, it is very doubtful if *čhol*, *čul* (Kal. *čhal*) 'lake' can have been borrowed from Ir. (Av. *čāl*- 'well'), as suggested loc. cit.

But there are some other words which are certainly of early (W. or E.) Ir. origin. Thus we find *ro'ēt* 'a fast': Prs. *rōza*, Pahl. *rōza*, Brahui loanword *rōza*; *anič* 'forehead': cf. Bal. *anišay* < **anīčaka*⁴; *čal'ir* 'tent' (borr. from Kho. into Kal. and Yd.): Prs. *čādar*, -ir; *girva'lor* 'peach' from an earlier form of Prs. *gūrdālū* with substitution of *ru* for **rδ*⁵; -*žeri* (in *puš-i-žeri* 'kitchen') < **cihriya*-, cf. Av. *azi-ciθra*, *vañkō-č* 'descended from a snake, a wolf'; *laparziŋ* 'battle-axe': Prs. *labar-zin(g)*, Wkh. *lapār*, etc.; **božik* 'to play (chess, etc.)': Prs. *bāzam*, *bārtan*; -*yōn* 'like, resembling': Sogd. *yōn* 'manner, kind', cf. Pashai *gōni* 'like', Hurkin (N.E. Caucasian) -*yuna* 'like'. Also the interesting word 'daxum' 'silver' must have passed through Middle Ir. on its way from Greek to Kho.

It is also tempting to derive Kho. *pa'xuri* 'the sunny side of a valley or a hill' from Av., Phl. *apačiar(a)* 'northern' with *u* from unstressed *a* (cf. *asur* 'he is' < **ásati*) and a secondary suffix. In Upper Chitral the earliest known home of the Khōs, the sunny side of the valley would be the north-western, in Maskuj the northern one.

¹ Kal. *durwaf*, *durwaf* may be adaptations of the Kho. word.

² It is noteworthy that the native I.A. word *gar'v* is used about animals, while the foreign and nobler one is reserved for human beings.

³ This derivation is rejected by Meillet (*BSL.*, 28, p. 133), who does not, of course, know the Kho. and Gabri forms. It is not necessary to assume, with Joki (*WuS.*, 12, p. 66) that *zala* has passed through an Ugrian language with *z* < *k*. Cf. also Yidgha-Munji *zayo* 'wall'?

⁴ Vide *NTS.*, 6, p. 40.

⁵ Ir. *δ* becomes *r* in Kho. But in the group **rδ* this treatment was excluded.

⁶ Pres. 1 pl. *ba'jisi*, pres. 3 pl. *bōžiani*, etc. A different word is *božik* 'to divide' of I.A. origin.

A much more doubtful case is *lozmiran* which O'Brien and also my Kalasha informant give as the Kho word for daughter-in-law. It has a decidedly Ir. appearance, and one could easily imagine a Middle Ir. **lozmē-δēn* denoting the daughter-in-law as the continuer of the family lineage, the "receptaculum seminis".

But Colonel Lorimer, who has kindly undertaken to ascertain the exact meaning of the word for me in Gilgit, informs me that it does not mean daughter-in-law, but "is a term used of two sets of parents-in-law *vis-à-vis* each other, and is used by them as a term of address to each other". This seems to upset the otherwise plausible derivation of *lozmiran*.

It is perhaps conceivable that the meaning given by Lorimer is, after all, a secondary one. If the word did originally denote the daughter-in-law, it may have got its sphere of meaning extended so as to include her parents, and subsequently have lost its primary signification and have been restricted to its present use.

We do not know from which Middle Ir. dialect or dialects Kho. may have borrowed. There exists, however, possibly one indication regarding the source of some of the words mentioned above. The Kalasha name for the Khōs is *Pāliu*, which can be derived from **Pārlaw* and may originally have been applied to a group of Parthians who found their way to Chitral and established their rule among the native tribes of the country.

III

From early times down to the present day the inhabitants of Chitral have been in constant and close contact with the Ir. tribes to the north and west, and their dialects have been influenced by Kho. This is especially the case with Yidgha, which has been spoken in Chitral for many generations. But Wakhi also, although being separated from Chitral¹ by a high range of mountains, has submitted to the influence of Kho. to the extent of borrowing even some personal pronouns from this language.²

But Kho., on its side, has not been averse to adopting a number of words from these numerically and culturally unimportant Ir. border tribes. We do not know *how* the process of borrowing has taken place,

¹ The existence of recent Wakhi settlers in the Yarkhun valley does not alter the situation in this respect.

² Cf. Rep. Afgh., p. 79.

but we must remember that the circumstances favour an extensive linguistic exchange. Small groups of settlers are constantly emigrating from one valley to another, peasants cross the passes to trade in the nearest bazaar or in search of temporary employment as labourers, shepherds meet in a friendly or unfriendly way on the grazing grounds in the mountains. The village communities are small, and the local dialects have no great prestige. The result is a lack of backbone, a linguistic lability which offers little resistance towards the introduction of foreign elements.

But, even so, it is remarkable that Kho. should have borrowed from Wakhi, or from an earlier form of that language, some of the most common words.¹ Thus we find:—

Kho. *do'yār* 'finger-nail' < Wkh. *dāger*, *dā'gar*, etc. < **n(a)g*- (cf.

Capus' Wkh. *'hindiger'*) < **na*- with Wkh. *k* < *z*.

Kho. *ri'gīs* 'beard' < Wkh. *regīš*, *regīš* < **ra-gaiš*- (acc. to Sköld).

Kho. *isprū* 'fruit-blossom' < **sprū*: Wkh. *spray*, *spray*. Cf. also

Kho. *iš'prenžik*, *ispreñjik* 'to blossom' < Ir. **spreñj(a)*-, cf. Sogd. *'spr-* 'to blossom', Sak. *haspalys*-(caus.).

Kho. *isprāsk*, *isprāz* 'ceiling' < **spānsk* (?), Wkh. *si'pask*, Shgh. *š'pāšc* 'rafter'.

Kho. *sonlu* 'raven' < Wkh. *šond*, cf. Oss. *sunl*.

Kho. *pāz* 'breast' < Wkh. *pūz*, Sar. *puz*, etc.

Kho. *rozni* 'embers' < Wkh. *razni(g)* 'fire'.

Kho. *parik*, *yerik* 'to turn (into)', etc. < Wkh. *yir* 'to turn round'.

Kho. *pol* 'polo-ball' < Wkh. *lup* 'playing ball'.

Kho. *so'guk* 'hoof' (Verch. *sope*). Wkh. has the Prs. loanword *sun*, but there may have existed an earlier genuine Wkh. form with the characteristic Wkh. change of *f* > *p* (cf. Av. *sofa*-).

Kho. *wāru* 'rain', *zomeik* 'to yawn', *sareik* 'to appear', seem to correspond to Wkh. *wār* 'rain', *zim* 'yawn', *sičūy* 'to appear', but these words may have been borrowed by Kho. from some other Ir. dialect (cf. Oss. *zimbiñ* 'to yawn').

And in the case of Kho. *zēl* (Kal. *kāel*) 'perspiration', *an'dāu* 'fever', *wāy* 'price, money': Wkh. *šil*, *andav*, *way*, which can scarcely be genuine Wkh. forms, it is equally possible that both languages have borrowed from a common Ir. source. Nor is it certain that Wkh. *kiržep*, *kizžep* 'magpie' is the form from which Kho. *kisip* has been borrowed. Cf. Shgh. *kizžep*, Werchikwar *yašep*, etc.

¹ Cf. Report on a linguistic mission to Afghanistan, p. 76.

The following words, which are common to Kho. and Wkh., have an Ir. appearance, but they have not been traced in any other Ir. language and their origin is therefore uncertain: Kho. *u'zār*: Wkh. *wa'zār* 'ladder'; Kho. *biz'bar* 'eagle, kite': Wkh. *bisgūr* ('*biz* (?) + *par* ?); Kho. *san'gūr* (Kal. *sāngūr* 'i') 'guts, entrails': Wkh. *šangar*; Kho. *jaz*, *zaz* 'thorn, bramble': Wkh. *zaz*, *zaz*.

On the other hand, the vocalism and also the isolated position of the Wkh. word render it probable that Wkh. *liur* 'ford' is borrowed from Kho. *lūw*. Kho. *našk* 'beak' corresponds to Wkh. *nišk*, Sar. *nišk*, but can scarcely be separated from Gawar-Bati *našuk*, Dameli *naš*, Pashai *nošuk*, *nāšuk*.

It is surprising that Kho. should have borrowed any words from Yidgha, the dialect of a small and unimportant border-community. Yet this seems to be the case, although the situation is considerably obscured by the circumstance that Yd. has evidently borrowed many words of Ir. origin from Kho., and it is often difficult to distinguish such words from those which may have been adopted into Kho. from Yd.

The following are the most probable examples of Kho. borrowing from Yd., or an older form of that dialect:—

Kho. *ka'dām* 'limb, body': Yd. *ha'damē* < Av. *han'dāman*, with regular change of *nd* < *d*. *h*- appears in Yd. without any regard to etymology.

Kho. *yēik*, *yēm* 'to spin': Yd. *yēm*, with regular loss of intervocalic *v*. Cf. Munji *yēmum*, Wkh. *žūp*, Sgl. *yūw*, *yēw* < **gūip*.

Kho. *wrazni* (also Pal.) 'pillow': Yd. *wraznē* < **wraznai* < **barznika*-. But Kho. *wrazdāni* 'bolster' < **warz(d)ni* is an earlier loanword and is probably in its turn the source of Yd. *vrazi'dinē*.

Kho. *xu'ri* 'wild rose': Yd. *axriō* < **ā-xuriā* (?), cf. Prs. *xār*, etc. Kho. *pežemik* 'to entrust': Yd. *pižam*, Munji *pejōn* < **pa-i-šamya*-.

Kho. *šūnf* 'needle': Yd. *šinjo*, *šunjo* < **šūzno*, cf. Mj. *šizno*. The Kho. word can scarcely be connected with Kal. *suš*, *sužik*, etc.

Kho. *frōš* 'muzzle, lip of an animal': Yd. *frušē* < Av. *fraša*- 'forwards' + *-ka*-. It is not certain that the Kho. word is borrowed from Yd.

Kho. *drēik* 'to pour out, sow, throw, shave': Yd. *drē* with the same varieties of meaning. The word is also found in Munji and must be Ir. (**han-drūwaga* ?).

Kho. *venjēk* 'to fry': Yd. *vroč* (for *-vrj-* < **vrij-*?). Cf. Bal. *brījaq*.

Kho. *ju-sara* 'a period of two years'. Only given by a Yidgha as the translation of his own *loh-sara*. If correct *sara* < **saw-* may be connected with Ir. *sak-* 'to pass the time, vide Alphab. List, s.v. *šozč*.

Kho. *trispōy* 'dandelion': cf. Yd. *trīsp* 'sour'.

Kho. *ro'men* (O'Brien *ro'mēnūz*) 'aspen': Yd. *ra'meno*. Also in Mj. and therefore scarcely of Kho. origin.

Kho. *ušturik* 'to flee, run, jump': Yd. *uštūš* 'to jump'. Apparently the original Yd. present stem was **uštur*, **uštur*, or **uštur*, *uštūš* being the ancient past stem.

Kho. *au'zetu* 'heifer (two years old)': Probably < early Yd. **avzēdo* < **abi* (or **upa-*)-*zēghā*; cf. *vazāto* 'pregnant animal' < **upa-*(?) *zēghā*, *pažēti* 'male sheep one to two years old' < **paizēghaka*.

Kho. *croz* 'spark' corresponds to Yd. *croz*, but similar forms are found also in other Ir. languages. Yd. *yernānu* 'whirlpool, eddy' is borrowed from Kho. *yernānu*, *yerdānu* (Kal. *ger'dānu* fr. Kho.), in its turn a loanword from Ir., cf. Prs. *girānāh*, Sgl. *gerdān* and especially Waziri Psh. *yirnbai* < **garlāno*?

The nature of the relationship between Kho. *inīs* 'bride', *žirjēk* 'to lament, cry', *sayūrj* 'large hawk',¹ *wēy* 'price', and Yd. *juwiz*, *žirjy*, *šayūrš*, *hūy*² is unknown. Kho. *truš'ni* 'thirsty' is probably a loanword from Ir., but Yd. *truš'ne*³ is borrowed from, and not the source of, the Kho. word. I do not know whether Kho. *tresna'yuli* 'thyme' is of Ir. origin. Also Yd. *tanou* 'rope' (Biddulph) is probably borrowed from Kho. *tanau* < Ir., cf. Prs. *tanūdan* 'to twist'.

Finally we may mention that Kho. *noj* 'rushes' is derived from Skr. *naḍa-* and not borrowed from Mjanji *nał*.

The third Ir. Pamir language bordering upon Chitral is Sanglechi-Ishkashmi. The strongest evidence of its influence upon Kho. is Kho. *wēz* 'above': Sgl. *warāz* (< **wēz-* < **barz-*). Kho. *w'sanu* 'whetstone', *dumik* 'to card wool', *gerdik* 'to turn round' remind us of Sgl. *wasin* (< **wasān*), *damb*, *yort-* 'to walk about' (early loanword from Phl.). But it is by no means certain that the Kho. words

¹ Palola loanword *ayurāz*.

² Cf. above, p. 662.

³ Also Yd. *ifno*, etc., of Prs. origin.

come from Sgl. Cf. e.g. Yd. *afseno*, Prs. *afsān* 'whetstone'; Yd. *lih* < **dumb-* 'to card', etc.

If Kho. *dāraz* 'hillside, forest' is connected with Ishk. *alax*, *dīax* 'hill' (< **ardāra-*) the borrowing must have taken place at an early date. Kal. *adarakh*, Pal. *adraz* 'hillside' may easily be loanwords from Kho., from which these languages have borrowed very freely.

Kho. *čid'in* 'brass kettle' (> Kal. *čid'min*) recalls Ishk. *čudān*; but both words are probably of Prs. origin, cf. *čudān*, *kū°* 'cast metal'. *čādān* 'kettle' is found also in Yazghulami. Finally may be mentioned the very remote possibility of the curious Kho. word *γōjiz* 'hare' having been borrowed from a lost (or not recorded) Sgl. **γōjiz* < **gaušija-* (long-) eared'. But what about Kal. *g'āw'rik*, *gaw'rik* 'hare'?

IV

While the Dardic languages south of Kho. contain a number of loanwords from Psh., such words are extremely rare in Kho. It is not till quite recently that the two languages have come into contact, Kho. expanding towards the south and Psh. towards the north in the Kunar valley and Dir.

But there are many words in Kho. which have a general E.Ir. appearance, or which agree more or less with forms found in several Pamir dialects. Such words will be found in the following Alphabetical List (cf. s.vv. *copik*, *lašt*, *menū*, *muryulūm*, *pātum*, *rošt*, *šozčik*, *sāz*, *sapik*, *wōr*, *werkūz*, *wrazim*, *xāl*, (a) *xomik*, *xora*, *zēy*, *zētēč*) which includes also, for the sake of reference, all the words mentioned above, and a number of doubtful loanwords, or such as could not easily be fitted into the groups dealt with above. There are many other Kho. words which contain un-Indian sounds, but which have not been found either in Iranian, Turkish, or Burushaski. But there is always the possibility of new words having been created within Kho. itself at a time when foreign sounds had already been adopted into the phonetic system of the language. Cf. e.g. *γōj* 'dumb' and *dag* 'boy', which at the same time contain cerebrals and the un-Indian sounds *γ* and *g*. In Psh. and Bal. words of a similar mixed type are quite numerous.

At any rate, I hope that the list, in spite of its shortcomings and its inconclusiveness, may give some impression of the extent to which Kho. has been subject to Ir. influence, and that other scholars may be able to trace the source and history of many words which I have had

to leave unexplained. I need not add that my Kho. material is by no means exhaustive.

ALPHABETICAL LIST OF IRANIAN WORDS IN KHOWAR

āw'ōy 'eructation'. With a kind of reduplication from Prs. *ārōy*?

Yd. *arū'ōy* is borrowed from Kho.

amīc 'forehead', v. p. 244.

andāu 'fever', v. p. 246.

angā(h) 'awake', v. p. 243.

anzēik 'to send'; < Ir. **han-zayā*, cf. Av. *zā(y)*- 'mittere'?

anzōst (Lor.) 'waste, desolate'. Of Ir. appearance, but without any known connection. Sgl. *senz*-: *zūyθ* 'to lift, seize', etc., cannot be compared.

is'kīm 'silk', v. p. 241.

is'kenā 'awl', v. p. 243.

u'sanu 'whetstone', v. p. 248.

iskūrdi 'short'. Cf. Kurd. *kūrd* (v. Bartholomae *ZDMG.*, 50, 702)?

isprū 'blossom', *ispreñik*, *išp* 'to blossom', v. p. 246.

isprāsk 'ceiling', v. p. 246.

aš'gār 'lungs', cf. Prs. *šazār*.

isādrī 'star'. Prob. IA, cf. Ashkun *is'ia*, etc.

isār 'horse', v. p. 243.

iskāli 'excuse', v. p. 243.

iskama 'belly', v. p. 243.

išmāreik 'to count'.

išpēl 'whistling', v. p. 243.

u'stūrik 'to flee, spring', v. p. 248.

awarīk, *aurīk* 'to ride'. Cf. Av. *bar*-, Yaghn. *vorīki* 'to ride'.

iečs 'bridle', v. p. 248.

u'xār 'ladder', v. p. 247.

a'xānu 'stable', < **āxur-dān*?

'āyūnūn 'egg', < **ā(w)yač*, cf. Prs. *xāya*, etc. But *-un*?

au'zeu 'heifer', v. p. 248.

bo'yāzu 'frog'. Cf. Prs. *bazay*, *wz*°, etc., Av. *vazayō*. With transposition, cf. Munji *wyazayō*.

brōnsk, *brōn* 'meadow', Kal. *brunz*, Pal. *brīnzu*, Dam. *brās*. Poss.

< **mranz* < Ir. **marā*. But Av. *maraza*- 'border country'.

bōšk 'thick'. Cf. Wkh. *bōj*, Sgl. *vzōk*, etc.?

bašōy, *bās* 'stream divided into many rivulets'. Yd. (*yāyō*) *bašōyō id.*

ba'ikan 'country', v. p. 242.

biz'bar 'eagle', v. p. 247.

**božik* 'to play', v. p. 244.

copik 'to gather, pick': Wkh. *čip*, Sar. *cev*-, Yd. *čuv*-.

czraz 'spark', v. p. 248.

čēik, *čēōik* 'to be frozen'. Pres. **č(h)āimn*. Prob. from Prs. *čā(h)āimn*

'to feel cold', cf. Munji *čiy*-.

č'īdīm 'brass pot', v. p. 249.

čārweu 'headman of several villages', *čārū* 'village headman':

Prs. *čarū* 'fatness' (cf. Oss. *bāsč-soi* 'the fat of the land, a

prominent man').

čhal 'lake', v. p. 244.

čālir 'tent', v. p. 244.

čazur 'spinning wheel', v. p. 244.

čō'yūr 'finger nail', v. p. 246.

dāmnik 'to card wool', v. p. 248.

drēik 'to pour out', etc., v. p. 247.

draczm 'silver', v. p. 244.

drucēik 'to load up' (> Kal. of Utsun *drāz*-). Ir. *darz*- 'to wrap

up, to load', cf. Sar. *derz*- 'to load' and Et. Voc. Psh. s.v. *lējāl*.

dauwarh 'door', v. p. 244.

frosk 'right, true'. Ir.?

froš 'muzzle', v. p. 247.

fričēik 'to sniff'. Cf. Wkh. *ferz*- 'to sneeze'?

gu'dāz 'trouble', v. p. 243.

givarulōy 'peach', v. p. 244.

gurzen 'garden', v. p. 242.

yēik 'to spin', v. p. 247.

yāčū 'leather'. Ir. ? But cf. Gawar-Bati *guci*, Dam. *gōci*, Waig. *guči*, Kal. (Leitner) *gao*.

yāl 'polo' (Kal. *gāl*). Prs. *yāl* 'rolling', *yālūk* 'playing ball'. Dialect form < **galt*?

yēlēik 'to curl'. Prs. *yulāda* 'curls', but no corresponding verb.

yaluamf 'kite', v. p. 243.

yōjī 'hare', v. p. 249.

yān 'wooden trough', Ir. ?

yōn 'like', v. p. 244.

yarīk 'to turn (into)', v. p. 246.

yāri 'upland pasture'. Av. *gairi*- 'mountain', etc.?

yruč 'a bunch of grapes'. Prob. IA. in spite of the *y*-. Cf. Gawar-

Bati *wrič*, Pal. *gruč*, Dam. *gu'rus*, *g'ruč*, Psh. of Dir *gurrū* 'strawberry'. Kal. *ruč* 'bunch of grapes' < Kho.

- yardik* 'to turn round', v. p. 248.
yrūnu 'pregnant', v. p. 244.
yet nānu 'eddy', v. p. 248.
yzar 'footsteps', v. p. 659.
hādām 'limbs, body', v. p. 243.
hārēn 'mirror', v. p. 244.
horsk 'straight, true' (Dam. *šska* 'truth') < Ir. **urzk*, cf. Yd. *urzy*, etc. Kal. *užuk* is IA.
ke'leč 'fathom', v. p. 242.
krenj 'wrinkle', v. p. 243.
kar'as 'cotton' (Kal. *kra'kas*). Borrowed from Prs. *karvās*, **wās* (in its turn from Ind.), and again borrowed from Kho. into Yd.
kušk(omū) 'armpit'. Cf. Prs. *kaš* ?
kišipi 'magpie', v. p. 246.
kiep 'book', v. p. 242.
ko'or 'pigeon'. Prob. IA., cf. Kal. *ko'hōl* (Kal. u. *ko'hōr*). But Waig. *kuplo*, Gawar-Bati *kōpola* are perhaps early Ir. loanwords.
klām 'palate', v. p. 242.
klow'gor 'sword': Prs. *aranga*l, Sogd. *xyr*, Yd. *xu'gor*, Ar. *zanjār* (< Prs.).
lašt 'plain, steppe', Kal. *lašt*, Pal. *l'haš* 'plain, flat'. From an Ir. *l*-dialect, cf. Prs. *dašt* ?
me'nū 'guest'. < **mēm*-, cf. Prs. *mihmān*, etc. ?
mu'rušim 'down of birds', 'wool of ibex'. Wkh. *marišam* 'goat's wool'.
nimež 'prayer', v. p. 244.
našk 'beak', v. p. 247.
na'wes 'grandchild', v. p. 242.
nivēšik 'to write', v. p. 243.
nazoi 'pea', v. p. 243.
pašim (Kal. *pašim*) 'soft, smooth'. Wkh. *pa(a)im* 'soft, smooth, fine powder', Yd. *pašim* 'soft, smooth, fine', Sgl. *pašm*. Also Prs. *pašin* 'dust' from an *l*-dialect ?
pe'laš 'rug', v. p. 242. Cf. Shughni *pe'laš*.
palungušū 'finger-ring'. Wkh. *plōngōšū*, but Yd. *pargušē* (< **paran-gušē*?). Not found in Prs.
pošp 'wool'. Probably an early loanword from Ir. *pašin*. Found in most Dardic dialects; Kal. *paš*, Bashk. *pam*, Gawar-Bati *pōm*, etc.
poč 'polo ball', v. p. 246.
pašturi 'sunny side', v. p. 244.

- pāz* 'breast', v. p. 246.
pežemik 'to entrust', v. p. 247.
phirvān 'shirt', v. p. 242.
phirvōl 'trousers', v. p. 242.
plōšt 'skin', v. p. 242.
roči 'fast', v. p. 244.
ri'giš 'beard', v. p. 246.
rūm 'tail'. Acc. to Turner (*Nep. Dic.*, s.v. *dimas*) early loanword from Prs. In that case the only Kho. word with *r* < Ir. *δ*. The long *ū* would be difficult to explain. Probably IA. = Skt. *lūma*.
ro'men 'aspen', v. p. 248.
ronzik, *ranzman* 'to shiver' (Kal. *ronz*, Dam. *rāz*-). Probably Ir. *ranz* < **ra-rz*, cf. Prs. *larrīdan*, Psh. *režēdāl*, etc. Welsh Gypsy *rizer* < **riz*- ?
rošt 'daylight'. Wkh. *rašt* 'day', Sgl. *rašt* 'dawn'.
riwēš 'rhubarb', v. p. 243.
rozcik 'to leave behind'. Ir. ?
rozni 'embers', v. p. 246.
sa'puk 'hoof', v. p. 246.
sor 'head'. The *o* indicates a rather early borrowing. Yd. *soro* 'ear of corn' from Kho.
sarčik 'to appear', v. p. 246.
srūng 'horn'. Cross between **srīng* (< *śringā*-) and Av. *srū*- ? The modern Pamir dialects all have *š* < *sr*, for instance Yd. *šū*.
-sara, v. p. 248.
sauzēik 'to sew, prepare'. Ir. ?
sa'yūry 'hawk', v. p. 248.
šūnj 'needle', v. p. 247.
šinjūr 'juniper-tree'. Prs. *sinjūd* Yd. *sazjō*, Munji *sijid*. Anc. loanword from Ir. (with *s-j* > *š-j*) or vice versa ?
šēzē (O'Brien) 'stumbling'. Cf. Prs. *šezīdan*, Yd. *s^hzuy* 'to stumble'.
šēzik 'horn', v. p. 242.
šozčik, *šezūmān*, *šozs* (O'Brien, Ganji-Pukhto) 'to pass, cross a pass, to forgive', in the G.-i.-P. 'to pass' (about the time). Kal. *šezsin* from Kho., Sgl. *šezs*, Wkh. *šozs* 'to pass'. Probably < **sarša*- from Ir. *sak*- 'to pass (the time)'.
šā 'black'. Wkh. *šū*, Sgl. *šūi*. Ir. ?
šobīlāki 'lucerne', v. p. 242.

gaṅgūr 'guts', v. p. 247.
gaṇlu 'raven', v. p. 246.
ga'pik 'bread', Wkh. *zaxik*, Shgh. *šapik*, etc., v. Rep. Lingu. Miss. Afgh., p. 77.

lanau 'rope', v. p. 248.

lowk 'shallow': Prs. *lunuk*, etc. Also Kho. *lowuk* 'thin, delicate', etc.

la pāz-zing 'battle-axe', v. p. 244.

truš'wē 'thirsty', v. p. 248.

tripōy 'dandelion', v. p. 248.

tū wek 'gun', v. p. 243.

lozmiran 'daughter-in-law' (?), v. p. 245.

wā 'again', Prs. *bāz*. Prs. *wā* is used only as a verbal prefix.

we 'without' < Ir. **(a)βē-*, Prs. *bē*. *we-lulu* 'fatherless'; *we-xāl*

'taskless'; *wē-sortu* 'widow'.

wōy 'price', v. pp. 246, 248.

wōru 'rain', v. p. 246.

wōr 'snell' (> Pal. *ōr*). < *βōδ*, cf. Wkh. *wīl*, Werhikw. loan-word *wēri*.

werhiāu 'lamb'; *werhiālu* 'ram, three years old'. Scarcely borrowed from Ir., Wkh. *wīrk*, etc.

warām 'felt, numbs'; *warānk* 'posteen'; *ša warimi* 'siāh-pōš'. Ir.?

wrenfēik 'to fry', v. p. 248.

wāz 'above', v. p. 248.

watziāni 'bolster', v. p. 247.

wraznī 'pillow', v. p. 247.

wrazun 'wing' (Kal. *bazūn-guṇḍi*); *warāznen* lo (Kal. *wrazun-lōu*)

'flying squirrel'; *postwrazun*, *poz'wāzur*, *poswō* (Kal. *pōzwrazun*)

'bat'. Cf. Yd. *wēzeryo*, Munji *wozeryo*, Psh. *wazar*, etc.

wesortu 'widow' (> Yd. *wisortu*). Ir. **βē-sar* 'headless', cf. Kal.

a-βēsa 'widow, *bē-sar*'.

wecen 'evening' < **uz-ayana-*, cf. Av. *uzayana-*, *uzayairina-*, Yd.

izirine.

'zacorn 'owner'. Ir.?

xāl (Kal. *khal*), Yd. *xāl* from Kho.) 'taste'. < Ir. **x'āl* < *xwāš*,

Prs. *xīwāš*.

xēl 'sweet', v. p. 246 (Paah. of Kuyangai *hēlā* from Psh.).

xomik, *axomik*, *xwomik* 'to descend'. Wkh. *žam-*, cf. Sar. *žāus-*,

Yd. *zajs-*, Prs. *zambānān* 'to bend', etc.

xē 'stench'. Ir.?

xora 'mill'. Cf. Sgl. *zušāri*. Yd. *xīro*, etc.

xūr 'other'. Ir.?

xu'ri 'wild rose', v. p. 247.

xēšēik 'to entreat'. Ir.?

zašk 'soft'. Ir.?

zošp 'dream'. Prs. *zusp* 'asleep'. But *š*?

zalan 'house', v. p. 244.

zawisik, *zowsik* 'to request'. Ir., cf. Arm. *zawsim* 'I say'?

zu šēn 'happy' (Kal. *xō'šēn*, Dam. *kho'šen*, Bashgali *kušēn* from Kho.).

Cf. Sogd. **zwašēn* ('*zws'nu*)? Or Prs. *zwašnān*?

zō'yānu 'belly'. Ir.?

zaz'gūm 'carrot', Kāsi (Chitral) *gaz'gūm*. **ga'f(a)k* + *ūm* of IA. origin

but perhaps influenced in the ending by Sgl., Prs. *šalyēm* 'turnip'.

yōrmān 'woe, *armān*' (in poetic formula). Early loanword from Prs. *ērman* with Kho. *ē* > *yo-* (cf. *yo'mun* 'winter').

yūrān Bidd., *yurān* O'Brien 'year', *yerwēn* Bidd. 'solstice'.

Connection with Av. *yār-* 'year' is very improbable.

yozun(u) 'yoke'. < Middle Ir. **yōzan* = Skr. *yojana-*?

zōik 'to agree to'. Ir.?

zōy 'fat, grease'. Yazghulami *zōy* 'liquid fat', Psh. *yōz* 'fat of the kidneys' (and Osh. *qa(n)z* 'marrow'?).

zō'mēik 'to yawn', v. p. 246.

zāru 'old'. Prs. *zur* 'old man', Yd. *zōr*.

zērē 'yellow'. Ir. **zērt* + *ē*, cf. Seistani *zerēa* or *zarēi* 'rust disease

of wheat'. Shgh. *zereē* 'rust'. Kho. *zērbōi* 'yellow rose' < **zērd-*

wat?

zūr 'poison', v. p. 244.

-žeri 'young animal', v. p. 244.

žirfēik 'to lament', v. p. 248.¹

¹ Also the other Dardic languages contain some early Ir. loanwords. I have mentioned Shina, etc., *gudpēr* 'prince', Rep., p. 76. Others are e.g. Kal. *porē* (Dam. *parēti*) 'sieve'; Parachi *garjōn*; Kal. *awētū*, *ēlas* 'small flat basket', *sohōla* 'big, deep basket' < **sopul-*; Prs. *seppā*, etc.; *zhānyak* 'child-bearing'; Av. *zēhga-*; Gawar-Bari *zālak*, Bashkarik *jālak* 'boy(s)'; Pl. *zālak*; Dameli *rōpak* 'fox' (or IA ?); Ashkun *buri'mi* 'almond'; Prs. *bādām*, etc.; Palola *bētīgōla* 'tomato, egg-plant'; Kohistani Shina *bhādingar*; Prs. *badiyān* < IA. (through Ir. ?).